

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00  
AID-05 OMB-01 EUR-12 /074 W  
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O R 250746Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 490  
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 12990

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 2.)

USLO PEKING FOR SECRETARY

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: JA SC  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN OFFICE PERCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE SE ASIAN POLICY  
FOLLOWING PM FUKUDA'S TOUR

REF: TOKYO 12936 (NOTAL)

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SUMMARY: WHILE VISIBLY PLEASED WITH RELATIVE SUCCESS OF PM FUKUDA'S RECENT TOUR IN IMPROVING ATMOSPHERE OF JAPAN-SEA RELATIONS, FONOFF OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO DESCRIBE FUTURE JAPANESE POLICY FOR REGION IN TERMS OF CAUTION AND CONTINUITY. PERCEIVING JAPAN'S ROLE IN SE ASIA AS COMPLEMENTARY TO U.S. OBJECTIVES, THEY EXPECT GOJ TO CONTINUE ITS INCREASED ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF ASEAN IN PARTICULAR BUT

WITHIN CAREFUL LIMITS. GOJ WILL EXTEND LIMITED AID TO VIETNAM IN HOPE OF DIMISHING RELIANCE ON SOVIETS, BUT WILL TAKE CARE TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING ASEAN IN PROCESS. IN EFFORT TO ERASE SE ASIAN DISTRUST OF JAPANESE, GOJ WILL PERSIST IN EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GREATER CULTURAL AND PERSONAL EXCHANGES. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF OFFICIALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN PM FUKUDA'S RECENT SE ASIAN TOUR HAVE EXPRESSED TO EMBOFF CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION WITH ITS SUCCESS, NOTING WITH SOME PRIDE THAT FUKUDA'S JOURNEY SYMBOLIZED JAPAN'S FIRST INDEPENDENT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN THE POSTWAR YEARS. BUT DESPITE OFFICIAL BUILD-UP TO PRESS AND PUBLIC OF POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PM'S TRIP, THEY READILY ADMITTED THAT JOG'S BASIC OBJECTIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS INITIATIVE HAD BEEN RELATIVELY MODEST:

--TO PLACE JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH REGION, AND ASEAN IN PARTICULAR, IN CONTEXT AND TERMS MORE ACCEPTABLE TO SE ASIAN SENSIBILITIES; AND  
--TO HELP UNDERCUT PERSISTENT IMAGE OF JAPANESE AS IRRESPONSIBLE "ECONOMIC ANIMALS" BY DEMONSTRATING, ESPECIALLY TO AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN AUDIENCES, THAT JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY COULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND NOT MOTIVATED BY IMMEDIATE PROFIT INTERESTS.

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FONOFF OFFICIALS BELIEVED THAT USEFUL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD BOTH OBJECTIVES.

2. FROM SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH FONOFF ASIAN REGIONAL AFFAIRS DIVDIR NISHIYAMA, 1ST SE ASIAN DEPDIR HOGEN AND 2ND SE ASIAN DIVDIR TANINO, SEVERAL COMMON (AND FAMILIAR) THEMES EMERGED IN THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF FUKUDA'S TRIP AND JAPAN'S SE ASIA POLICY:

3. CONTINUITY OF JAPANESE POLICY: PM FUKUDA'S SPEECH IN MANILA (HEADLINED IN TOKYO AS "THE FUKUDA DOCTRINE") DID NOT PRESAGE ANY SUDDEN OR DRAMATIC SHIFT IN JAPANESE POLICY. THOUGH GOJ WOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES THROUGHOUT REGION AND WOULD PLAY-UP ITS GREATER ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR ASEAN, ANY INCREASE IN JAPAN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN SE ASIA WOULD IN FACT BE RELATIVELY MARGINAL. WE ARE TOLD BY ACCOMPANYING JOURNALIST THAT MEMBERS OF FUKUDA PARTY RESITED ANY TEMPTATION TO ADVOCATE MORE ACTIVIST ASIAN POLICY ON BASIS OF FUKUDA'S MODEST SUCCESS.

4. COMPLEMENTING US ROLE: THERE WAS COMMON ASSUMPTION

THAT JAPAN'S INCREASED INTEREST IN SE ASIA, AS  
MANIFESTED BYFUKUDA'S TRIP, WOULD BE WELCOMED BY  
WASHINGTON AS SUPPORTIVE OF BASIC US OBJECTIVES IN  
REGION. JAPANESE INITIATIVE HAD BEEN BASED ON BELIEF  
THAT US WOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL,  
ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ROLE IN SE ASIA--A COMPOSITE  
ROLE JAPAN NEITHER ASPIRED TO NOR WAS ABLE TO ASSUME.  
WHILE FONOFF OFFICIALS HAVE PUBLICLY DENIED THAT US  
HAD SOMEHOW INSPIRED OR PUSHED JAPANESE DIALOGUE WITH  
ASEAN, THEY PRIVATELY NOTED THAT TOKYO'S DECISION TO  
BEGIN DIALOGUE HAD FORTUITOUSLY COINCIDED WITH US  
SUGGESTIONS OF "EXPANDED ASIAN ROLE" FOR JAPAN.  
(REFTEL)

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AMEMBASSY MANILA  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA  
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 12990

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (T E X T )

USLO PEKING FOR SECRETARY

CINHZAC ALSO FOR POLAD

5. MEASURED DIALOGUE WITH ASEAN: WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT ASEAN EXPECTATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO EXCEED JAPANESE WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS, FONOFF OFFICIALS NEVERTHELESS BELIEVED FUKUDA HAD STRUCK PROPER BALANCE DURING TRIP -- FORTHCOMING ENOUGH WITH ECONOMIC-ASSISTANCE PLEDGES TO VALIDATE HIS PUBLIC STANCE OF SUPPORT FOR SE ASIAN NATIONS,  
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BUT ALSO MAKING NO SECRET TO ASEAN LEADERSHIP OF LIMITS TO JAPANESE GENEROSITY. FUKUDA, THEY ASSERTED, HAD MADE STRONG PITCH AGAINST DISADVANTAGES ASSOCIATED WITH ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH EXCLUSIVE REGIONAL ECONOMIC BLOCX. (SEE SEPTEL ON JAPANESE ECONOMIC DISCUSSIONS WITH SE ASIANS).

6. LIMITED SUPPORT FOR INDOCHINA: FONOFF OFFICIALS STATED THAT GOJ WOULD CONTINUE TO ATTACH GREATER IMPORTANCE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH ASEAN STATES THAN WITH INDOCHINA COMMUNIST NATIONS. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, JAPAN WOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE CAUTION IN ITS PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION WITH ASEAN FOR FEAR OF UNNECESSARILY ANTAGONIZING HANOI. FONOFF PERCEIVED THAT JAPAN MIGHT PLAY USEFUL ROLE IN HELPING TO WEAN SRV AWAY FROM EXCESSIVE RELIANCE ON SOVIETS THROUGH LIMITED AMOUNTS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR DOMESTIC RECONSTRUCTION. FONOFF BELIEVED THAT ASEAN LEADERSHIP HAD UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED FUKUDA'S PRIVATE EXPLANATIONS OF THIS POLICY.

7. "HEART-TO-HEART" DIPLOMACY: PERHAPS IN LINE WITH WEIGHT JAPANESE HAVE TRADITIONALLY GIVEN TO FORM AS WELL AS SUBSTANCE, CENTRAL PREMISE IN FONOFF DISCUSSIONS OF RELATIONS WITH SE ASIA HAS BEEN NEED TO OVERCOME LONG-STANDING SUSPICION AND ANTIPATHY THROUGH DEMONSTRATION OF JAPANESE SINCERITY AND GOOD-WILL. HENCE, FUKEDA PARTICULARLY STRESSED PROMISE OF EQUAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND SE ASIA. FONOFF PLANNED TO FOLLOW UP WITH PROPOSALS TO PROMOTE GREATER CULTURAL EXCHANGE.

8. COMMENT: FONOFF COMMENTARY ON FUKUDA'S TRIP AND  
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LINES OF FUTURE JAPANESE POLICY IN SE ASIA APPEAR REALISTIC. MEMORY OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER TANAKA'S

SOUTHEAST ASIAN MISADVENTURES IS FRESH IN JAPAN JAPAN AND MERE FACT THAT FUKUDA ENCOUNTERED NO ANTI-JAPANESE DEMONSTRATIONS AND WAS ABLE TO FOLLOW PROGRAM AS PLANNED MUST BE COUNTED AS MAJOR PLUS. WHETHER "HEART-TO-HEART" DIPLOMACY, HOWEVER, CAN ERASE IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE SE ASIAN DISTRUST OF JAPANESE REMAINS QUESTIONABLE. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON JAPANESE ABILITY TO MEET SOUTHEAST ASIAN EXPECTATIONS AND LIVE UP TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN PERCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE COMMITMENTS. GOJ HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN RAISING ITS DIPLOMATIC PROFILE IN SE ASIA, BUT HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID ENCUMBERING POLITICAL NUANCES. KEY NOTE TO ITS FUTURE ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CAUTION. IN MEANTIME, TRIP HAS UNQUESTIONABLY BEEN POLITICAL PLUS FOR FUKUDA IN JAPAN, ENHANCING HIS PRESTIGE AT OUTSET OF COMING POLITICAL SEASON.

MANSFIELD

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** OVIP, PFOR, PDEV, JA, SC, XC, (FUKUDA, TAKEO)  
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